

looking ahead

... A monthly report by the National Planning Association on forward-looking policy planning and research—announced, underway, and completed—of importance to the nation's future

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O.T.C. and G.A.T.T.
the people of NPA

A Program for the Nonmilitary Defense of the United States

*A Statement by the
NPA Special Committee on Nonmilitary Defense Planning*

THE THREAT of nuclear war hangs over the world like an ominous cloud.

To protect our country in this dangerous period we are spending some forty billion dollars annually on building and maintaining our military strength. Up to the present, however, we have been far too little concerned with those nonmilitary measures that hold out possibilities for increasing our ability to survive atomic attack, to rebuild our production capacity rapidly, and to support our drive to victory.

The failure to consider and adopt an integrated and adequate program of nonmilitary defense is a dangerous weakness in the nation's security effort. This weakness erodes the strength upon which we rely to establish and maintain peace. It diminishes our survival potential in the event of attack, and it reduces our capacity to mobilize resources for victory after attack.

If nuclear war comes, there is strong likelihood that it will be directed at the heart of our economic strength: our major cities; our industrial concentrations; our power, fuel, transportation, and communication networks. If we can take action now to reduce our vulnerability to attack and to speed our ability to recuperate, we will substantially reduce the likelihood of attack and will save lives and resources if it comes. We will also make an important contribution to the ultimate victory that will alone preserve the civilization and the way of life we cherish.

Building a strong nonmilitary defense program is a task that cannot be left to someone else, some remote agency of government, some existing well-established institutions. To be successful, this must be a truly national program—in which individual citizens, business firms, state and local governments, civic organizations, and the national government all participate. Each has a proper role, each a responsibility.

(continued on page 2)

At the UN's

10th Anniversary Celebration

The tenth anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter was celebrated in San Francisco last week by a special session of the UN General Assembly. The occasion was marked by the greatest assemblage of high-ranking government officials from the UN countries since the Charter-making conference ten years ago.

Paralleling the official tenth anniversary celebration was a series of special events sponsored by nongovernmental organizations from the United States. One highlight was the luncheon for nongovernmental organizations chaired by J.D. Zellerbach, President of the Crown Zellerbach Corporation and a Trustee of the National Planning Association. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge was the guest speaker. Other events conducted by nongovernmental organizations included meetings on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the UN technical assistance program, and the past and future of the United Nations.



(The Committee statement then outlines the dimensions of the nonmilitary defense problem and makes specific recommendations for protection of people and industrial resources, economic stabilization, and managing the damaged economy. The Committee's general recommendations for dealing with the critical issues in U.S. nonmilitary defense follow.)

Provision should be made for coordination and direction under centralized responsibility of the nonmilitary defense program within the Federal Government.

Many departments and agencies of the Federal Government are now engaged in nonmilitary defense activities. The work lacks central direction and coordination. There is no clear legislative definition of areas of specific responsibility. Conflict of authority and responsibility stems from existing legislation that assigns fragments of nonmilitary defense activities to different agencies. To make the split worse, state governors and legislatures have segments of authority under the present Civil Defense Act.

The Office of Defense Mobilization is attempting to coordinate one major part of the nonmilitary defense effort. It is maintaining skeleton divisions capable of expansion in an attack emergency and is trying to push ahead with advance planning in many directions. This agency is inadequately staffed even to guide and coordinate all the programs which have been set in motion under its direction. It has necessarily had to supply these staff deficiencies by farming out assignments to other Federal agencies. This cannot assure uniformly successful results.

Even more important is the fact that two other agencies with critical nonmilitary defense responsibilities—the Federal Civil Defense Administration and the Department of Defense—operate under their own legislation and report directly to the President. The Office of Defense Mobilization now has no authority even to coordinate, let alone to exercise control over, these divided activities.

This underlying legislative confusion should be removed promptly as a dangerous impediment to building an effective and integrated national defense effort. Major modifications need to be made in the National Security Act, the Federal Civil Defense Act, and the Defense Production Act. Other legislative changes may also be desirable, to specify explicitly the subordination of independent Federal cabinet departments and agencies to a chosen central point of responsibility.

To explore means of remedying this dangerous situation and to advise the Congress and the state governors, a temporary "Nonmilitary Defense Commission" should be created.

This Commission should be appointed promptly by the President, with instructions to report within six months. Membership on the Commission should be comprised of distinguished citizens who are familiar with nonmilitary defense problems and who are willing and able to devote a substantial share of their time to the work of the Commission. They should be aided by an adequate staff. The Commission should have the following assignments:

To formulate the basic requirements of a comprehensive, national nonmilitary defense program which will match in actual and potential post-attack effectiveness our diplomatic and military programs.

To define a basis for integrating such a nonmilitary defense program with our military program, both before and after attack; this will involve particularly the two crucial problems of manpower use and effective civil government in a damaged economy, as well as a host of related problems and conflicts.

To recommend an adequate organization structure in the Federal Government capable of coordinating and directing such a program.

To specify the changes and adjustments in legislation, appropriations, and Federal-state relations, which will be necessary to carry out the program.

To promote public understanding and acceptance of the importance of nonmilitary defense, and to provide a respected forum for discussion of its changing nature in future years, we urge the Board of Trustees of the National Planning Association to seek the creation of a "Nonmilitary Defense Council" under sponsorship and with financial support from one or more endowed foundations.

Government agencies can perform only a part of the whole job of creating and guiding a nonmilitary defense program which will make an essential contribution to the national security. In our free society a very large share of the task must be accomplished by business firms, labor unions and other economic organizations, by civic and voluntary groups, and by informed citizens who are, in many cases, especially organized for the job. These non-governmental groups can help the government agencies with ideas and techniques which will strengthen the official program and give assurance of public support.

Such a Council should have a broad representation of leaders in management, labor, agriculture, state and local government, universities, professional and scientific groups, and citizens' groups. It should be supported

by foundation grants to assure its independence and the provision of a competent and resourceful staff. The Council should have the following important functions:

To promote public understanding of the nature and requirements of the nonmilitary defense program.

To encourage and coordinate private research in nonmilitary defense problems.

To encourage and coordinate efforts by individuals, agriculture, industry and labor organizations, and communities to do those things that can and should be done without government assistance and provide a balance of judgment on the appropriate roles to be played by all segments of our society.

To aid Federal agencies in working out cooperative arrangements with private and community agencies and groups to test and appraise particular features of the program before final adoption.

To draft model legislation--for both states and municipalities--required to facilitate and encourage an effective nonmilitary defense program at the local level.

Perhaps of greatest importance, the Council should serve as a center of constructive thought and planning by nongovernment groups, to look ahead and anticipate the changing nature of the nonmilitary defense program as the nature and extent of the threat changes.

(PP-92. Full text of Committee statement and a report by William H. Stead on "The Tasks of Nonmilitary Defense and the Present Status of Planning." 97 pp. \$1.50. A separate, mimeographed Appendix summarizes nonmilitary defense planning in nine Government departments and agencies, and by six industry groups and four individual companies. 91 pp. 50¢. Limited quantity. From: NPA. 1955.)

Report on German Currency Reform

IN 1946 Gerhard Colm, Joseph M. Dodge, and Raymond W. Goldsmith were asked by General Lucius Clay to prepare a report on currency reform in Germany and to discuss it with technicians of the other occupation powers. The result was a classified report on "A Plan for the Liquidation of War Finance and the Financial Rehabilitation of Germany," submitted to General Clay and the four occupying powers of Germany in May 1946. This report served as a basis for the currency reform of 1948 in Western Germany. It has now been declassified and published, with a preface by the au-

—the people of NPA—

Theodore
W.
Schultz



NPA Board member Theodore W. Schultz, agricultural economist, author, and economic consultant, is Chairman of the Department of Economics of the University of Chicago. Dr. Schultz is also a member of NPA's Agriculture and Executive Committees and is Director of Research for NPA's technical cooperation project. Dr. Schultz received his B.S. degree in Agriculture from South Dakota State College and his M.S. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Wisconsin. In 1929, he studied developments in agricultural production in Central Europe and western Russia, and in 1936 the agricultural systems of the Scandinavian countries and Scotland. In 1941, his studies took him to Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina, and the following year he was a delegate to the Second Inter-American Conference on Agriculture in Mexico City. A recognized expert on postwar food problems, he was chairman of the American Famine Emergency Committee mission to India in 1946. In 1948, the War Department sent him on a special mission to Germany to study price policy at the time of the German currency reform. He was one of five experts who prepared the 1951 UN report on "Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries." Dr. Schultz is a research adviser to the Committee for Economic Development and a director of the National Bureau of Economic Research, and has served as consultant to the State and Agriculture Departments and the Food and Agriculture Organization. He has written several books and technical bulletins and numerous papers on economics, agricultural economics, and public policy subjects.

thors in a German periodical. Reprints in English are available from NPA at \$1 per copy.

Managing the Federal Government

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT is the largest employer of personnel in the United States. Its activities are manifold and the talents and specialties of its employees diverse. In these circumstances, it is essential for the efficient and intelligent conduct of Government affairs that the functions of top management be clearly defined and managerial positions occupied by people of proven ability. Yet, according to the Hoover Commission and its Task Force on Personnel and Civil Service, the organization and supply of top management appear to be the weakest links in the Federal personnel system. These inadequacies and suggestions for improvement are pointed out in two reports—one prepared by the Commission and the second prepared for the Commission by the Task Force.

The problem of selecting and training top executives is compounded in Government service by the need for two kinds of executives—politically responsible officials who change with different administrations and administrative experts with long civil service experience. The reports indicate that both types are necessary in modern government. However, there is the danger, according to the Hoover Commission, that inexperienced political appointees may abdicate their responsibilities in favor of career employees who then will be unable to accomplish their own work because of entanglement in partisan politics.

As the Task Force report points out, political executives must take the responsibility for governing. They are the officials who implement the President's program and must take the responsibility for its success or failure. They make the final decisions or determine the principles by which decisions are to be made. They appear before Congress and the public to advocate new policies or defend existing policies. In short, their role is at the heart of representative government.

There should be an increase, the Hoover Commission recommends, in the number of competent people exercising political leadership at the highest level. Otherwise, the high turnover of "overworked and relatively inexperienced noncareer executives" will continue, together with a growing tendency to rely too heavily on career administrators—to the detriment of responsible democratic government.

According to the Task Force report, private employers have "what may be the crucial part to play in increasing the supply of polit-

ical executive talent.... Responsible employers who pride themselves on the high quality of their personnel should make very certain that they are not depriving the Nation of the services of men whose qualities of leadership it greatly needs, and at the same time depriving their employees of an experience in public service which also would add to their effectiveness when they return to private life."

SUCCESSFUL government, according to the report, also depends upon the utilization of career administrators at the highest levels. These officials are experts in getting the job done, once the objectives and general policies are determined by politically responsible officials. Without the aid of experienced career officials, says the Task Force report, "modern government would break down."

The Hoover Commission recommends the creation of a Senior Civil Service to be composed of the most competent and experienced civil servants in the Federal Government. They would be selected for the Service by a special board appointed by the President. Their pay and status would be determined by their appointment as senior civil servants rather than by the particular job held at any time.

This recommended change in the Federal personnel system has two major objectives. "The primary objective," says the Task Force report, "is to have always at hand in the Government a dedicated group of highly qualified administrators whose competence, integrity, and faithfulness cannot reasonably be questioned; who will make it easier for political executives to discharge their responsibilities; and who will add to the smoothness, the effectiveness, and the economy of governmental operations. A secondary but related purpose is to make the civil service more attractive as a career to able men and women."

(Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, "Personnel and Civil Service: A Report to the Congress." 101 pp. 40¢; "Task Force Report on Personnel and Civil Service." 252 pp. 75¢. From: Supt. of Doc., Wash. 25. 1955) ◀

New Chairman Bank of America

Jesse Tapp, a member of NPA's National Council, has recently become Chairman of the Board of the Bank of America. Mr. Tapp was formerly Vice Chairman of the Board.

New Activities at Brookings

by Robert D. Calkins

President, the Brookings Institution

DURING the past three years the Brookings Institution has been heavily engaged in finishing a large volume of research in progress, while formulating its plans for the future. The directions are now set. Some twenty new projects have been started. As a whole these projects represent a substantial beginning on a new program of research and education.

The Institution regards its primary function as that of bridging the gap between the social sciences and the conduct of public affairs. It seeks to clarify economic, governmental, and international problems of public importance and to contribute toward the solution of these problems by means of research. Another objective is to advance fundamental research and knowledge by empirical studies and by the refinement of theory. A third and important purpose is to improve the methods of research for the guidance of decision-making, policy, and action on matters of public interest.

Completion of Work in Progress

The immediate task of the last few years has been to complete a number of outstanding research commitments. The largest was a comprehensive review of the origin and operations of the United Nations. This study was begun in 1951 under the direction of Dr. Leo Pasvolksy. Upon his untimely death in 1953 Robert W. Hartley took over direction of the project. The research is now nearing completion and will be published in seven volumes. The first volume, "The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security," by Professor Leland Goodrich and Anne Simons, will be published in June. Other volumes will follow during the fall and winter.

The Institution's regional seminars on problems of foreign policy were discontinued in 1953, but two annual volumes on "Major Problems of U.S. Foreign Policy," which are widely used for classroom purposes, have been published. A third volume in this series is in preparation. "Formosa," a problem of foreign policy, by Joseph W. Ballantine, was issued in 1952, and "American Foreign Assistance," by William Adams Brown and Redvers Opie, was published in 1953.

In other fields the Institution has issued Dr. George W. Bachman's "Health Resources

in the United States," Charles L. Dearing's "Industrial Pensions," and A.D.H. Kaplan's "Big Enterprise in a Competitive System."

A study of "Futures Trading," by Harold B. Rowe, and the case studies of big business, by A.D.H. Kaplan, are still in progress. The completion of the foregoing books now in preparation will dispose of all research projects pending in 1952.

New Research Activities

A good deal of the projected research will be done by social scientists borrowed temporarily from government and the universities. Some part-time work will be assigned to professors serving on their own campuses. A small, carefully selected permanent staff will be maintained at Brookings. These permanent and special staff members will be aided by a revolving staff of research assistants, supplemented by a number of research fellows.

Much of the current work involves the study of institutional adjustment and its policy implications in a changing society. A number of new studies of this sort have been started on markets and competition. In addition to Kaplan's work on the role of big business in competitive markets, and Rowe's re-examination of "Futures Trading," two new projects are being started: a study of "Competition" in a growing economy, under the direction of Professor J.M. Clark of Columbia, and a study of "The Economic Impact of the Law of Price Discrimination," under the direction of Professor Corwin D. Edwards of Chicago.

In the labor field, Professor Kenyon E. Poole of Northwestern is examining the implications of "Escalator Clauses in Labor Contracts," and a new study of "The Impact of Union Policies Upon Industrial Management" over the last twenty years is to begin this summer under Professors Sumner Slichter and E.R. Livernash of Harvard.

Major investigations are also in progress in the area of finance. Professors Edward S. Shaw of Stanford and John G. Gurley of Maryland have under way a study of "Trends in Commercial Banking, 1896-1953." The Institution has begun a series of studies on "The History of the Federal Reserve System," in cooperation with the Committee on the History of the Federal Reserve System. The first

study in this series, a "Biography of Benjamin Strong," is proceeding under the direction of Professor Lester V. Chandler of Princeton. Other investigations in this series and additional studies in the general field of finance likewise will be announced during the coming year.

A re-examination of national transportation problems has seemed necessary in view of the changes of the last twenty years. Accordingly the Institution has in progress a review of the "Urban Transportation Problem" by Wilfred Owen, and an examination of the problem of "Railroads and Public Policy" by Charles L. Dearing.

In addition, the Institution is developing a technique for estimating the unemployment effects of tariff reductions. This work is under the direction of Walter S. Salant. Lewis H. Kimmel is completing a monographic study of "Tax Bases and Tax Policy," and Professor Marshall Robinson of Dartmouth is completing "An Introduction to Economic Reasoning."

In the field of government the Institution proposes to concentrate on political processes and their implications for responsive and responsible government. A year ago the American Political Science Association completed the five-volume study of "Presidential Nominating Politics in 1952" under the direction of Paul T. David of the Institution staff. As a sequel to this study, Mr. David and Ralph M. Goldman are now completing a pioneering work on "The Politics of National Party Conventions." Mr. Goldman will begin a new study this summer of "Trends in National Party Leadership," and plans have been made for a comprehensive study of "The Nominating and Election Politics of 1956" under the direction of Mr. David.

Other New Activities

In addition to the foregoing research projects, the Institution has inaugurated a number of educational activities. The research fellowship program which was discontinued in 1942 will be resumed in 1955-56. As funds are available, this fellowship program will be expanded to provide fellowships for some ten or twelve research fellows per year.

During the summer of 1955 the Institution will conduct, in cooperation with the Social Science Research Council, a two-months seminar on research methods and opportunities in the field of nominating and election politics under the direction of Paul T. David. It will also hold several conferences on the role of

big business and competition.

Several conferences on the economic outlook and public policy have been held, to which leading economists from universities have been brought to Washington for an off-the-record discussion with economists in government.

A year ago a series of public lectures was inaugurated. The first series on "Economics and Public Policy" was published several months ago. The Brookings Lectures for 1955 dealt with "Research Frontiers in Politics and Government." This series will be published during the fall.

The Institution has also issued several films for educational purposes, the latest of which is a film on "Planning Our Foreign Policy." Two earlier films were issued on "Competition and Big Business" and "Big Enterprise in the Competitive System."

The foregoing statement indicates the range of activities which the Institution is currently pursuing. Several additional projects will be announced during the coming year. ◀

Using American Agricultural Surpluses Abroad

THE NPA Agriculture Committee has released a statement urging the United States to put its surplus agricultural production to "creative use" in satisfying human needs and promoting economic development abroad. It proposes that long-term commodity utilization programs be worked out in consultation with other countries of the free world. In a report which accompanies the statement, Howard R. Tolley, member of the Committee, discusses in more detail the challenge which American surpluses present.

Distribution of surplus commodities should be handled, according to the statement, by special administrative machinery to ensure increased net consumption in the receiving countries and guarantee that these commodities will not merely displace goods imported through established commercial channels. Possible programs include free school lunches, food stamps, and factory lunch plans.

Foreign currencies accruing to the Government from surplus commodity sales should be used to stimulate economic development in the underdeveloped countries. "The surest way to build markets and expand trade," the Committee states, "is to create the conditions of economic progress among existing and potential customers."

(PP-91. From: NPA. 1955. 30 pp. 50¢)

The Organization for Trade Cooperation and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

AN IMPORTANT PROPOSAL has been made by the President and is being considered by the Congress to permit U.S. participation in an Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC). President Eisenhower believes the reasons for U.S. membership in the OTC are "overwhelming." Joining the proposed organization, the President said, would "demonstrate to the free world our active interest in the promotion of trade among the free nations" and "our desire to deal with matters of trade in the same cooperative way we do with military matters in such regional pacts as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

The principal job of the Organization for Trade Cooperation would be to administer the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), a multilateral trade agreement which the United States has participated in since 1948. In an analysis and appraisal prepared for the U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, GATT is referred to as "the most comprehensive undertaking that governments have ever entered into for the reduction of barriers to world trade."

The agreement itself consists of tariff schedules negotiated on a multilateral basis by the member governments; a set of common rules of trade; and a provisional organization (the OTC would replace this) to sponsor negotiations, settle disputes, and administer the agreement. Thirty-four governments which carry on 80 percent of world trade are associated in GATT.

MORE THAN 50,000 tariff concessions have been negotiated in the seven years since GATT was organized. According to the Chamber of Commerce study, the United States in 1953 obtained concessions benefiting about 51 percent of U.S. exports, amounting to an estimated \$8 billion. An escape clause permits a member government to withdraw or modify a concession, even when this is opposed by other parties to the concession. In this case, however, the other parties have the right to make "compensatory adjustments" in their concessions.

Quotas, or absolute restrictions on the amount or value of imports, says the Chamber of Commerce report, have "a far more drastic effect on trade than a tariff." Hence the gen-

eral prohibition in the GATT against the use of quotas. However, two important exceptions to this rule--the agricultural and balance-of-payments exceptions--impair the immediate value of the prohibition, according to the report.

Under the agricultural exceptions, import restrictions on agricultural or fishery products are permitted if like products are subject to domestic marketing or production controls. The United States finds itself in a dilemma regarding this exception, says the Chamber of Commerce study. The difficulty results from a provision in the Agricultural Adjustment Act which may require import restrictions on price supported products which are not subject to production control. A waiver was granted the United States at this year's GATT meeting making it possible for her to apply import restrictions, even though these may be in conflict with the GATT agricultural exception provision.

The other exception to the GATT rule against quotas is the one allowing countries to impose import restrictions for balance-of-payments reasons. A re-examination of this exception was a major U.S. objective at the last GATT meeting. As a result, the GATT was amended to provide for periodic review of import restrictions used by member governments to protect their international payments positions. During these reviews the countries maintaining the restrictions will be required to justify their retention.

THE UNITED STATES has participated in GATT, says the Chamber of Commerce report, "on the legal basis that it is an executive agreement negotiated by the President with the prior authorization of Congress in the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, as amended. Congressional approval of GATT has not been sought in the past because such action was considered unnecessary." However, now that the President has decided to ask for congressional approval of U.S. membership in the Organization for Trade Cooperation which is to administer GATT, it is likely that the whole question of U.S. participation in the agreement will come under review.

("G.A.T.T., An Analysis and Appraisal of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade."

From: U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, 103 Park Ave., N.Y. 17. 1955. 104 pp. \$1)

NPA Chairman

Receives Honorary Degree

H. Christian Sonne, Chairman of NPA's Board of Trustees, received an honorary degree on June 18 as a Doctor of Science in Commerce from the Drexel Institute of Technology.

New NPA Committee Members

NPA welcomes the following members added to its Board of Trustees and Standing Committees in 1955.

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Fred Smith—Fred Smith & Co., Inc., New York City.

Fletcher C. Waller—Vice President, Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Co., New York City.

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Editorial Consultant: Virginia D. Parker

Editorial Assistant for Looking Ahead: Diane Solares

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NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION

1606 New Hampshire Ave., N.W., Washington 9, D. C.
Telephone: Columbia 5-7685 Cable: NATPLAN

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